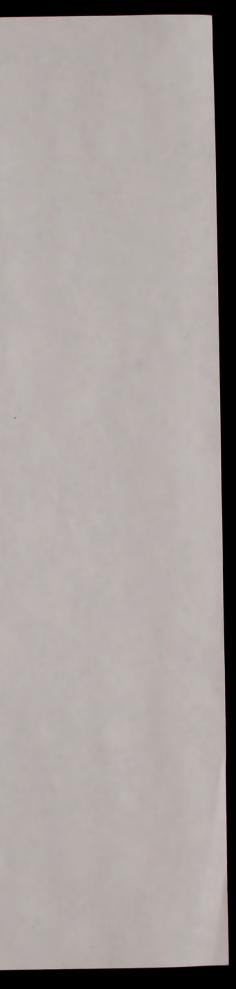


D. Miscellaneous

5. "Japan" [ca. 1960] - 8 pp. draft

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JAPAN

A Historical Shortcut

Japan's history is as old as the European and may be written in terms of feudalism: the rise and fall of the central power, the daimyo (Baron) and the Samurai (Knight) as the dominant class, the peasants as serfs, robber barons, warring monks, civil wars, and the establishment and fall of successive shogun (war lord) dynasties. This development culminated in the great Iyeyasu Tokagawa who consolidated feudalism and suppressed the merchant class in the end of the 16th Century. The country became closed to foreign trade and influence. In contrast to Europe no independent cities forming the nucleus of a merchant culture ever arose in Japan. This regime lasted 250 years when a peaceful revolution of parts of the nobility and the bourgeoisie, (under the impact of American guns) ended the decaying feudal order - - centuries after the European development. The monarchy, which had no real power for 1000 years, was "restored".

Although the country lacked natural resources and the fertile land is very small, it developed quickly along capitalistic lines. In our century Japan started an imperialist expansion under an anti-colonial flag. The Shinto worship of the ancestors, represented on earth by the present rulers, became the ideology for the racial superiority of the chosen people who belonged to the family of the emperor, claimed to be a descendant of the Sun (Le roi soleil). During the last war the empire ruled over large parts of China, Indonesia, and reached the borders of India. This conquest and the sudden fall of the Japanese imperialism like a house of cards is the dominant fact for the whole region.

The Impact of the American Occupation

Present day Japan, the outcome of the defeat, is strongly influenced by action of and reaction to the American occupation policies which transformed the country partly without plan, partly according to plan, and partly against plan. The American policy succeeded in certain respects and failed in others. Shining successes lead to stronger failures (Kazuo Kawai "Japans-American Interlude", University of Chicago Press, 1960).

The most important influence was the large scale inflation. As every modern military occupation the American one lived by printing paper money. The yen fell from 2 to 360 to the dollar. The consequence was black market, quick profiteering, moral disintegration, and a split between those who understood how to react to inflation and those who did not. The old people who lived on pensions or savings suffered greatly.

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 The occupation failed to break the monopolistic structure of the
Zaibatiu (big trusts) which knew how to profit from inflation. It failed in
the purges and the trials of war criminals such as Mr. Kishi. It succeeded
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The land reform broke the back of the feudal class, the peasants getting the land. The previous owners were compensated, but the payment was made in worthless paper money. This was clearly confiscation without compensation. It created a conservative peasantry which profited from this revolution and accepted the new era. No reversal of this decisive change seems to be possible. It must be added that the plots are very smallend that the industrial machinery for the main production, rice, is lacking. As a result the manual work of the peasants is extremely hard.

2) The American occupation favored the trade union movement which had been suppressed by the Imperial government. However, all conditions for the rise of a capitalist-minded, a-political labor movement were lacking. Therefore, the naive expectations of the occupation authorities that it should develop according to the American style were not fulfilled. Instead, it grew along socialist lines as in Europe and especially in England, and constitutes the basis for two Socialist Parties and a weak Communist

Party. In this respect the success of the American policy turned toward defeat.

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3) The same happened when the American occupation decreed a Pacifist Constitution which outlawed war as a tool of foreign policy. The majority of the Japanese accepted the defeat and its consequences. The military class became discredited and the new constitution was taken seriously. The reversal of the American policy which followed the outbreak of the Korean War was bound to confuse them. They were unable to accept the new situation as the Americans saw it. The weak ultra-nationalistic Japanese movement constitutes a pro-American force, but the aim of this movement which favors "government by assasination" is its own and not the American power.

The Japanese Youth and the Demonstrations 41960.

I was in Tokyo during the demonstrations which lasted for several weeks and got frightened letters from home inquiring about my safety. I have not seen any violence (which does not disprove its existence in other parts of the gigantic town). Only one person was killed. I had numerous talks with politically-minded Japanese. They strongly recommended an article of John D. Rockefeller 4th (New York Times, July 5, 1960) because the author lived for 2 1/2 years under Japanese conditions (income, food, housing, and work) -- a remarkable achievement.

The decisive fact for the majority of Japanese students is their extreme poverty. They eat only a fraction of the diet of American students. The struggle for education is intense since the university degree along with family status is decisive for life. The competition to get into a good school and from there into a leading college is rigorous. The ratio of

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applications to acceptance in a university may be as high as 16 to 1.

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"A wide gap in thinking separates the pre-war generations and those _ C _ grown up since the war. All pre-war concepts of behavior and attitude have been discredited in the eyes of the young. They have neither religion nor faith. Shintoism died with the war. Buddhism survives on tourist trade, Christianity affects less than one half per cent of the population." (Rockefeller) I had the impression that those Japanese I met were simultaneously non-believers in three religions: Confucianism, Shintoism, and Buddhism.

The demonstrators opposed the signing of the security pact, i. e. the military alliance with the United States. Among their motives was the fear of revival of the power of the military people with the help of this pact.

The young fervently wish their country to be neutral between the two blocs. The younger generation's desire for peace is realistic because they know what the war has done to their country. People still die from the two atomic bombs. "The students are absolutely and unalterably opposed to militarism in any form." (Rockefeller)

Some of the reactions of the Japanese were curious. Members of the Christian University and some Quakers expressed sympathy with the demonstrations. The neighbors of Mr. Kishi, in a luxurious suburb, complained not about the noise created by the demonstrations, but about his lack of consideration for not staying in his official residence in town. The Japanese to whom I spoke claimed that the demonstrations were not meant against Americans in general nor against President Eisenhower, but that the demonstrators interpreted his planned visit as a help to promote the military alliance.

The motives of the participants, Buddhist monks, and Trotzkyites (who dominate the student organization), Pacifists, Socialists, Communists, and Nationalists may have been very different. It is easy to explain this and any other opposition to American policies as Communist inspired, but I believe that what united the demonstrators was the alternative: Rice against Guns.



General Observations

I was very favorably impressed by the politeness and friendly attitude of my Japanese colleagues who did their best to moke the foreign delegated enjoy their stay. I did not encounter a single gesture directed against foreigners, even while I was watching the mass demonstrations against Frime Minister Kishi (who incidentally sat in the cabinet which decided Pearl Harbor).

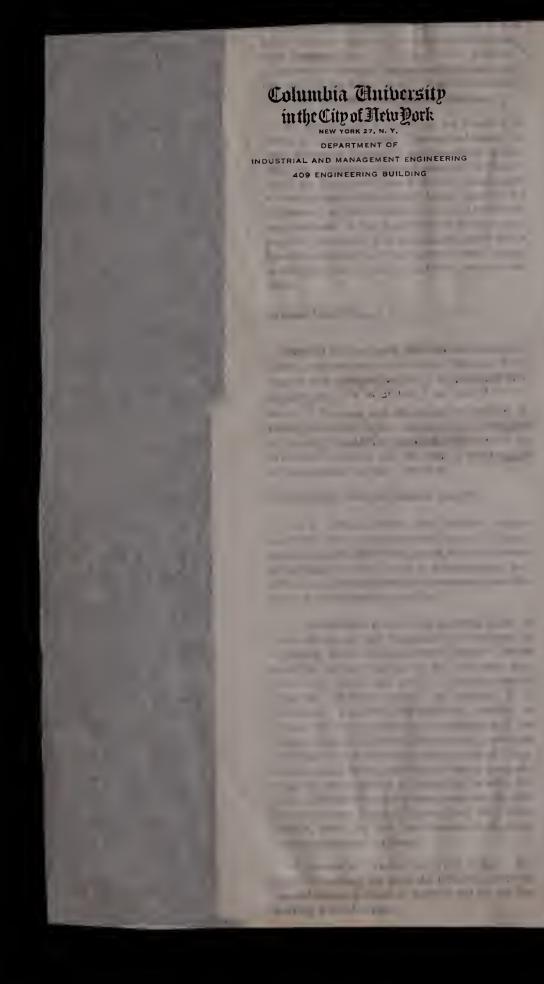
My deepest impression was the high level of learning and the low standard of living in those Japanese universities which I visited. The intellectual standing of professors, assistants and students is comparable to that in the United States. They were fully aware of the latest statistical developments and showed keen scientific interest, although the purchase of a single American book poses a major financial problem. Salaries are low, of the order of 200 dollars per month for a full professor. But the official exchange rate of 360 yen to the dollar is misleading since the purchasing power of the yen is higher and the general standard of living is lower.

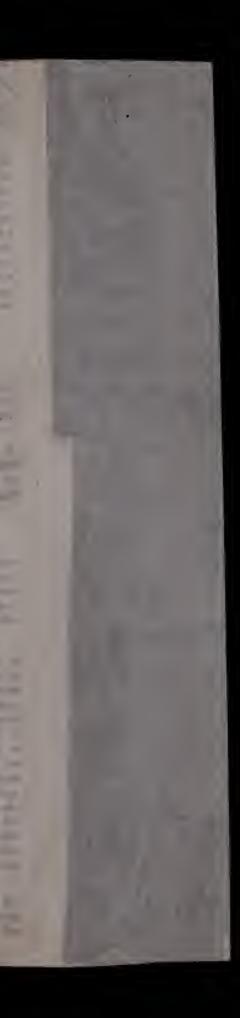
Japan presents a unique situation: It belongs to the Far East a region with a tradition as old as, but completely different to ours in its economic, social, moral, ethical and religious aspects and fictions. The ethics of Buddhism which is centuries older than Christianity is exalted. The shrines are of indescribable beauty. Bruegel and Bosch seem pale as compared to Japanese art. The Asian demons are decidedly superior to their American cousins like Mickey Mouse.

The survival of the old is coupled to the fact that Japan is at the same time a highly industrialized country, the most advanced in this respect in the Far East. At present there is no unemployment and the Japanese economy is a flourishing export business functioning efficiently on a capitalistic basis with strong monopolistic central structure coupled with paternalistic influences, feudal remnants, great skill, hard work and very low wages. The postal system with three mail deliveries per day in Tokyo, the largest town in the world with 10 million inhabitants is much better than in New York - which does not mean too much since our inefficient single mail delivery per day in the residential districts is unique in the industrial world. The worst American features such as hideous' advertisements destroying the natural beauties, gambling equipment, and barbarous behavior in the congested subways exist as native achievements.

The export goes mainly to the Western countries separated from Japan by thousands of mileswhile geography has placed Japan in the immediate neighborhood of two Asiatic giants: Russia and China







HONG-KONG Hong Kong

Hong Kong - in contrast to Japan - never had an independent existence. Its history starts in 1840 when the very virtuous Victorian England fought China for free enterprise in the opium trade and took over the barren island. The crown colony flourished during the 19th Century, was conquered during the Second World War by the Japanese and regained its status after the Japanese surrender.

It owes its present strength and productivity as a big industrial center to two reasons, the defeat of the Kuomintang armies and its existence as a free trade port. After the disaster of the Nationalist Chinese government not only the generals, (as usual in such countries), but even the soldiers sold their American-made equipment to the opposing Communists. Other parts of the Army surrendered in Hong Kong. The first wave of emigrants to the Crown colony were rich Chinese. Hundreds of thousands of poor followed. For all of them Hong Kong is the end of the line since none of them gets a visa to Formosa.

Hong Kong is one of the most densely populated places in the world. The population consists of 3,000,000 Chinese and 30,000 Europeans, the latter living in luxurious quarters while 200,000 Chinese live on barges and 100,000 in earthen holes. The Crown colony now builds large low-cost

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apartment houses. A high government official who very kindly showed me around called them "human filing cabinets". The three million Chinese constitute a hard-working conservative element. The political set up is paternalistic colonialism; no parties, no elections and an official press. The few labor unions comprise only a small part of the workers. The per capita income is estimated at \$ 250 per year.

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It would be wrong to consider the millions of Chinese as political refugees. Hong Kong is the industrial town which attracts the peasants from the surrounding agricultural area. About 200 people a day come from China legally, about the same number semi-legally (with the connivance of Chinese authorities) and an unknown number enter illegally at night by barge. I went to the Chinese frontier, a sleepy hut surrounded on both sides by rice fields. A lonely sentry was dozing in the sun. A few Chinese left by bicycle and others came in showing dirty slips of paper.

Hong Kong is linked to China by air, railway, and bus. It imports more from China than from any other country and is dependent on China for its water supply (a main problem) and most of its food.

The economic strength of Hong Kong is its status as a big free trade port. The cheap prices of refined consumer goods imported from all over the world are well known. The beauty of the harbor and the island attracts the tourists. But Hong Kong is also a big manufacturing center, exporting mainly textile goods and competing successfully in the world market on the basis of the cheap Chinese labor. Of course some Chinese goods too are sold as Hong Kong products.

The university, beautifully located at the top of a hill is of the English type, although some of the teachers are Chinese. All classes are

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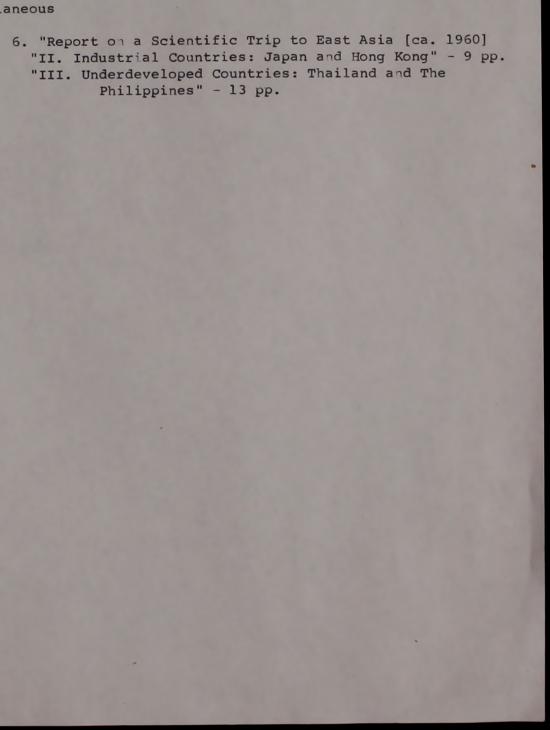
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The Chinese government has a great interest in the continued existence of Hong Kong as a British colony since it earns millions of dollars a year by its exports, profits from the big harbor, and the easy access to information. Inversely, all rumors about China start from Hong Kong. Parts of its territory are leased to the Crown colony and are supposed to return to China in about 40 years. Then China will profit from the large-scale investment of the tenant". Due to the common interests of the parties concerned, the unstable situation of Hong Kong is bound to last for a long time.

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D. Miscellaneous



REPORT ON A SCIENTIFIC TRIP TO EAST ASIA, II Industrial Countries: Japan and Hong Kong

> by E. J. Gumbel Columbia University

Reasons for Ignorance

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An intelligent American traveler in Europe and his European counterpart traveling in the States finds a basis for understanding the foreign country in a common alphabet, related languages, a more or less common economic system and legal tradition, similar methods of government and notions of democracy, common habits, predilections, aversions, prejudices, and superstitions.

No such common ties exist in East Asia. The foreigner is first of all an illiterate and ignorant with respect to economic and social history. He does not understand a word of the languages. He meets strange social and legal systems and fundamentally different problems and attitudes. A sharp division line separates him from the country. He lives in an artificial ice box while the natives sweat in the hot sun. He cannot eat in an ordinary restaurant. He lives in the town and has just the time to visit those monuments in the countryside which flourish on the tourist trade. The people he meets are westernized, but the structure of their languages prevents them from expressing their ideas correctly in a European language. Even if he tries to get away from the American colony, his nearest acquaintances are within a group of international bureaucrats of the United Nations; the World Health Organization and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, institutions, which flourish according to Parkinson's law and are separated from the "natives".

The well-intentioned foreigner may be full of pity for the poor people who lack our gadgets, in the mistaken belief that these are the things which give meaning to life. The consequence is the statement, "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet." In reality they meet every day on every street corner.

The romantic attitude toward the East is equally dangerous. Samuel Butler admired every lack of machinery. Lafcadio Hearn extolled the feudal obedience and the rigorous code of ethics permeating the social body and embellished every piece of dirt. The latest flower in this literary garden is the wonderful book of Fosco Maraini, "Meeting with Japan", written by an artist who has never met a worker sweating on a machine. It is easy to rewrite well-known facts about the unforgettable beauties

of the shrines and the gardens and to admire the artistic achievements of previous centuries. But if one tries to avoid this the opposite danger of oversimplification of complicated problems arises. Therefore, this author submits his apologies to the real connoiseurs of East Asia.

There are people who spend a few months in distant lands, read some books, and then pose as experts. No such claim is made here. Although the author tried hard to overcome his handicaps, he is not sure whether he has succeeded.

A Historical Shortcut

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Hong Kong is one of the most densely populated places in the world. The population consists of 3,000,000 Chinese and 30,000 Europeans, the latter living in luxurious quarters while 200,000 Chinese live on barges and 100,000 in earthen holes. The Crown colony now builds large low-cost

apartment houses. A high government official who very kindly showed me around called them "human filing cabinets". The three million Chinese constitute a hard-working conservative element. The political set up is paternalistic colonialism, no parties, no elections and an official press. The few labor unions comprise only a small part of the workers. The per capita income is estimated at \$ 250 per year.

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REPORT ON A SCIENTIFIC TRIP TO EAST ASIA, III Underdeveloped Countries: Thailand and The Philippines

> by E. J. Gumbel Columbia University

1) Thailand

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Compared to the bristling nervous industrial activities of Tokyo, Bangkok, the only large city in Thailand, is a sleepy place because Thailand is mainly an agricultural country with insignificant technical equipment. In contrast to other East Asian countries Thailand was never a colony. It preserved its independence because "the hungry wolf in the north" (the French) could not come to terms with the "bloody shark in the south" (the English).

Thailand is said to be the country of the royal white elephants. I never saw one, but did see several gray, very proletarian pachyderms working hard in a lumber factory. Benevolent tourist propaganda compares Thailand to Denmark and Bangkok to Venice, a pure Hollywood reality. The Danish peasants are highly educated and use the latest available machinery, while in Thailand illiteracy prevails and agricultural machinery doesn't exist. Venice, like Bangkok has hundreds of bridges and canals; but Venice is an island while Bangkok is 200 kilometers from the ocean and the small stagnant canals stink to high heavens, more than those of Venice.

The tourist gets folders and illustrated brochures on public welfare written in immaculate English. They have little connection with reality. Although sanitation is unknown in the countryside no large scale epidemics occurred recently, but leprosy still exists. The number of doctors is

estimated as 2,000 in a country of 23,000,000.

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Bangkok

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Wages may be as low as 25 dollars a month. There is mining in the South. Thailand exports rubber, teak and rice.

This city of about two million is the only large city in Thailand. Cultural life and small scale industry is concentrated therein.

The city is impressive by the magnificent temples, shining monuments of times long past. Nobody will ever forget the marvels of the Temple of the Reclining Buddha, The Emerald Buddha, the Temple of Dawn, the Marble Temple, the ruins of Ayudhya, the ancient capital, all built in a specific Thai style reflecting the particular development of Buddhism.

Everywhere the air corresponds to that of a badly ventilated steam laundry, since there are only three seasons, hot, hotter, and hottest. No public swimming pool exists. The Thai children enjoy bathing in the polluted Chao-Phya River. There is a swimming pool only at the Royal Colf Club restricted to its members. Since the Thai have no racial segregation, distinguished foreigners may receive an invitation.

There is no clear cut difference between the European and Thai quarters. Modern apartment houses are scarce, but beautiful villas are available to the foreign residents. Among modern horrors may be mentioned the monument of the victory of 1918 when the brave Thai army defeated the formidable German one.

Agriculture

The specific character of Thailand is the existence of an independent peasantry. The peasants own their land and this could be the basis of an agrarian primitive democracy, since 90 percent of the population live in

small villages. The plows are of antique structure and the omnipresent water buffalo is the only help available. During a trip by car of more than 200 km through the rice area I saw only one lone water pump although the water supply is fundamental for the rice production, which here is based mainly on manual labor. Most houses in the open country are built on wooden stilts under which live the chickens, dogs, cats and the water buffalos. The heat, intolerable for the foreigner, is a great advantage to the Thai people: the less you wear the more comfortable you are. The need for food is reduced. The problem of shelter is solved by a rain proof roof easily made from the palm thatches. This reduction of corporal needs produces an easy acceptance of things as they are, conforming to the prevailing Buddhist creed.

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The land is overpopulated. The country seems to have a harmonious and homogeneous character. Minorities, except for the Chinese, hated for the intensity of their work, play no role. There is a continuous transition from the splendor of the Golden Buddha, the rich villas of the ruling class, the modest houses and the slums of the city to the poor huts of the villages. No sharp distinction between the classes in town and between the city and country are visible.

"The pivot of the free world alliance"

Field Marshal Sarit Tharanat.

Thailand, i.e. the land of the free, is a monarchy sometimes aggravated, sometimes mitigated by relatively peaceful military coups. Slavery was officially abolished in 1905. The absolute monarchy was overthrown in a bloodless revolution in 1932, but about one third of the members of parliament are nominated by the Grown, i.e. the prevailing dictator.

Only one quarter of all voters ever take the trouble to vote. The late King Chulalongkorn had officially 96 wives and hundreds of legitimate progeny, thus beating our Brigham Young who had only 27 wives. To prevent the existence of a proletarianized aristocracy the title of nobility dies out in the fourth generation. Since 1932 there were about twenty-five military coups, some of which even resulted in deaths.

During the Second World War under Japan's pressure, Thailand declared war against the United States, but - and this is unheard of in diplomatic history - the United States did not accept the declaration, with the result that after the surrender of the Japanese all Thais had belonged to the free Thai movement favored by Washington.

After every coup the previous regime turns out to have been corrupt. But corruption should not be judged by our standards since the first loyalty is the family and the clan. American gangsters can still learn a lot from this underdeveloped country. Since the present dictator is progressive opium has been banned. One branch of the police department produces illegal opium for export, another branch confiscates it in the name of the law, receives the reward for doing so, and passes it to a third branch which sells it on the black market. (Noel S. Bush, New York, Van Nostrand, 1959).

At present the constitution is suspended and the country is ruled by the army under Sarit Tharanat. The press is strongly censored; no political parties are allowed to exist. The dictator doesn't even bother to "make" elections. Previous members of Parliament and many intellectuals are in prison without trial. The detention is justified by the designation of hooligans - juvenile delinquents although of respectable age.

A Communist movement does not seem to exist in this overwhelmingly agrarian country. It is said to exist among the Chinese minority who all carry passports from Formosa since China is not recognized. Chulalongkorn University

This school, the only state university, was founded in 1917. It has a vast campus and beautiful buildings in the Thai style. As fitting for a military dictatorship it is full of field marshals, generals, majors and colonels. This reflects the general situation, so that most of the professors need two or three jobs. Fees are so high that study is available mainly to the upper classes. The other students have to work besides in order to make a living. The amount of teaching is impressive, but the level is undergraduate. The study in the nine departments lasts three to five years and is strictly regulated.

I gave a three weeks course on statistics and read two papers at the Seato Graduate School of Engineering, founded in 1959, which is part of the University. The graduate school had to start on an undergraduate level. The students I met were very eager to learn, less to think. The word of the master is taken as final. An appeal to independent thinking and the use of previous knowledge to new problems was a strange feature for the students.

The language of the school is English, while the language of the University is Thai. In this language differences of sound which seem slight to us are of major importance. Consequently the Thai students had difficulty in identifying words pronounced in different Americanese, Nordic, or English accents.

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Bangkok is the seat of the South Atlantic Treaty Organization. Its non-Asian members Canada, England, United States, France, Australia, and New Zealand are linked by many historical ties. However, the three Asian members, Pakistan, Thailand, and The Philippines have no common frontiers, language, history, or commercial interests. Pakistan is a Mohammedan,Thailand a Buddhist and The Philippines a Catholic country. Pakistan and Thailand are under military dictatorship. The three countries differ in every respect except for all being underdeveloped, for having a high rate of illiteracy and for the fact that an overwhelming majority of the population live in what we would call misery. The military value of troops coming from countries which lack all modern technical equipment may be doubted.

ECAFE

The United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East in Bangkok covers Afganistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Formosa, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Malaya, Nepal, South Korea, Laos, Pakistan, and Philippines, and Vietnam, a region populated by about 1500 million people. Russia and China are not members. ECAFE plans for the industrial development of mineral resources, electrical power, iron and steel production, waterways and railways. Its main project is the flood control and water resources development, including navigation, irrigation, drainage and generation of water power from the Mekong River, which is of special interest to this writer. (Incidentally the reports are published by Columbia University Press). The Mekong, with a length of 3,000 km is the tenth largest river in the world.

The lower basin alone has a population of about 17 million. Up to now no protection against floods exists. Not a single bridge links the adjacent countries. Data on discharges, rating curves and precipitations are badly lacking. There is not even an accurate map of the basin and the project has had to start from scratch. Now aerial mapping is under way. The finishing of the gigantic project to tame this river may take up to twenty years of peace-if available.

Another project of ECAFE is the construction of a major international Asian highway along the old caravan routes, starting in Turkey and passing through India and leading to Indonesia. Because of its strategic imporwance this plan is viewed with suspicion by the Russians.

2) The Philippines

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In contrast to Japan and Thailand the Philippines have no history of their own. The islands were conquered in 1521 by Spain and remained a colony for more than 400 years. The Spanish destroyed all vestiges of the native culture and contributed practically nothing to indigenous development except a Catholic veneer and Spanish names. After the Spanish American War the Philippines became, in 1898, an American colony. During World War II they were conquered and thoroughly exploited by the Japanese and became independent in 1946. The destruction caused by the war is still visible in Manila.

I visited the sad remnants of Corregidor which held out against the Japanese invasion even after the "impregnable" fortress of Singapore had fallen. The island is now a tropical forest and the fortress beneath the soil is rusting. I went to the beautiful summer residences at Baguio and the vast (American) Clark Airfield. The next village has the business name

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of Angels. Finally I visited Lake Taal with its volcanic islands and tropical forests. The Philippines are a very beautiful and potentially rich country populated by very poor people.

The Countryside

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In contrast to Thailand the peasants do not as a rule own the land. Absentee landlords, share cropping and sugar latifundia are prevalent. Lack of the barest necessities of life drives the agricultural laborer to submission to the landlord. Opposition is squelched by hired guards, violence and murder. A law regulates the conditions of sharing the harvest, but the costly procedure in the courts and the length of such litigations (2-3 years) prevents its efficiency. Thus most of the agricultural population still lives in semi-feudal conditions. Castro is quite popular among the sugar barons because they expect a rise of the import quota to the United States, and also among the landless agricultural workers because he expropriated the big estates. So both parties agree although for different reasons.

The Philippines consist of thousands of islands with sixty or more languages, some of them so primitive that the numbers are in Spanish. Officially there are three languages, English, Spanish, and the native Tagalog. Primary education is given in Tagalog whether the children understand it or not. They grow up illiterate in three languages (like the Puerto Ricans in New York). Only 40 percent of the children who enter the first grade complete the 6th grade. Only 10 percent of the children who enter the first grade finish high school The Compulsory Education (4 years) is not enforced due to the lack of schools, text books, and teachers.

Underpayment of teachers and the bad maintenance of schools favor illiteracy. Officially there are only 40 percent illiterate. A trip away from the highway is a trip in time, a kilometer amounting to one or several years. A 500 km trip brings one back to the year 1000 to villages without roads, electricity or water supply, where primitive people still live in the trees. Sewage disposal and water supply are identical. In the south there are Moslems. In some remote islands native religions prevail, even head hunting is said to exist there.

Manila

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Against this background stands the shining city of Manila where the upper class lives on Dewey Boulevard, a combination of Riverside Drive and Fifth Avenue surrounded by slums.

In a fashionable night club in Manila I saw an inscription "Our patrons are requested to leave their guns and other deadly weapons in the cloak room". A similar notice was recently removed from the university. The carrying of arms is not confined to the upper class. I was warned that it is unsafe to use a taxi during the night.

I never saw such a social abyss between the upper Americanized classes in Manila and the rest of the population who live today in ages long past. The landless peasants who migrate to town live in terrible slums and share the fate of the proletariat as described for Europe 150 years ago by Dickens, Thackeray and Karl Marx. It is therefore not to be wondered that intellectuals are attracted to these old theories. The great number of small industrial establishments, professional union breakers hired by the managers and corrupt union leaders prevent the organization of labor.

The Communist Party tried to get a foot-hold in the labor movement. It failed because no such movement existed. However, the Party had an agricultural basis and gained considerable strength when their People's Army "Huakbalahup" fought the Japanese invaders while large parts of the upper class did not resist. Even today leading politicians are accused of having acted as Japanese quislings. The Communist Party was forbidden in 1948, but continues to exist underground.

The Statistical Center

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There is only one state university called the University of the Philippines. In addition there are private universities which flourish financially. This shows the endeavor of the Philippinos for a good education. However, most of the professors hold two or even three jobs and the students have to earn their own living. A student of mine was an engineer at the National Power Corporation and taught at the same time at another university.

The Statistical Center of the University of the Philippines was established with the help of the United Nations to train statisticians for government work, agricultural, economic, and labor statistics. The Center has a staff of a dozen professional lecturers on elementary and advanced methods of statistical analysis, sampling, probability theory, population, labor and agricultural statistics. Thirty-five courses are given by an international array of teachers. I contributed a course in advanced statistical methods. The students took a keen interest and were not adverse to thinking on their own. The level of the students was much higher than in Bangkok. In addition I gave two papers at the university. Many

engineers interested in flood control and breaking strength of materials attended and the discussion was of a high scientific level.

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The National Power Corporation for which I worked as consultant invited me to see the hydroelectric plants and projects under construction along the Agno River north of Bagio. The Ambuklo Development is a multipurpose dam designed to generate electric power to make water available for irrigation and to decrease the incidence of floods. A beautiful system of artificial lakes has been created. I was greatly impressed by the Binga Hydroelectric Plant which opened up in May 1960. Eventually these constructions will facilitate the industrialization of the country. Politics

The constitution of the Philippines and the administration conform to American models. The separation of executive, legislative and judicial powers, an Anti-Philippino Activities Committee, the role of the Post Master General as illegal censor are American imports. But such institutions cannot function in a country where the first loyalty is the family, the clan and the island. The basis of the American democracy, the riches of the country and the efficiency in work is lacking.

If the existence of an independent press is a criterion for democracy this certainly holds for the Philippines. Every day the opposition press accuses the government of corruption and the government press answers by similar reproaches. Probably both are justified. The main source of corruption is the dollar gap in the foreign trade and the creation of different exchange rates. The legal rate is 2 pesos to the dollar, the tourist rate is 3.20 pesos, the illegal rate may be up to 4 pesos.

Consequently the main occupation of a politician is to acquire the dollar legally at two and sell it extralegally for four. 3) Economic Problems of Underdeveloped Countries

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East Asia of which I have seen a microscopic part is populated by a billion hungry people. Actual starvation may exist in China and India. The notion of hunger, alien to our mind, is a reality over there. Any policy appropriate to an affluent society is bound to meet with failure. The following table illustrates the difference between industrial and underdeveloped countries. (The data are not strictly comparable and are meant only to show the order of magnitude).

Indications of Economic and Social Levels

	Expectation of Life at Birth	Per capita annually in dollars (Income)	Inf mor
U.S.A.	70	2000	
Japan	68	190	
Philippines	51	150	
Thailand	45	80	
Burma	34	50	
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The problem is how these underdeveloped nations will be able to industrialize. This can only be done by the formation of capital, normally a cruel process based on the exploitation of workers peasants or both.

Capitalism arose in Western Europe linked to Protestantism. In East Asia it is an alien import linked to colonialism, i.e. foreign domination and Christianity. The classical technical basis of the slow road of

capitalist countries - in favor of free enterprise - was the inefficient steam engine which is now out of date. Therefore this process will not be repeated. Foreign loans or aid may be a substitute for the accumulation of capital, but whatever forms it may take they are linked in the minds of the inhabitants to imperialism and colonialism. The Russians promise a quick indigenous road by enforced accumulation of capital in the hands of the state, a procedure which we know will surpass the horrors of the capitalist way in blood, sweat and tears. A wise Hindu proposed a third road, the development of small scale industry, "what this country needs is a longer broomstick".

The underdeveloped countries will not be free in their choice of the road to technical progress. This will depend on the balance of economic strength of the two great powers the United States and Russia. The road to be taken will be decisive for the future of mankind since these countries contain the majority of the population on our small planet. "The meek shall inherit the earth".

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